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CHINESE MILITARY, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL REFORM: SURVEY AND CHRONOLOGY, January 1 - June 30, 1986

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June 1986

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PREFACE

This survey examines the course of Chinese political, military and economic reforms as reported between 1 January and 30 June 1986. For each topic, a brief statement of ultimate goals is followed by a discussion of the policy statements and key actions of the period. A chronological list of such statements and events is appended. The study is based on a variety of open sources, including US, Chinese, and other foreign newspapers, periodicals, wire services, books, and journals.

CONTENTS

		Page
SUMMAR	Y	iv
SURVEY	OF CHINA'S REFORM EFFORTS, 1 January - 30 June 1986	1
a.		1
ъ.		1
c.	Military Reform	3
d.	Economic Reform	5
е.	Conclusion	7
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	8
CHRONO	LOGY	9
a.	Political Reform	10
Ъ.		17
с.	Economic Reform	24

SUMMARY

During the first half of 1986 the overall goal of China's reform effort remained one of greater professionalism in all organizational sectors: government; military; and economic. Well-educated, professionally qualified administrators or officers are to follow laws and regulations in their work, deciding issues through consultation and explicit procedures. In spite of admitted difficulties, especially in reform of factory management, the leadership has called for further reform in the future. In what may be a response to internal criticism and opposition to the reform program within the party, the reformist leadership has mounted a major propaganda and ideological campaign, calling for another "Hundred Flowers" policy, for the implementation of "socialist democracy," and for an end to arbitrary harassment of reformers. Blame for the slow progress of the reforms is thus being put on "dogmatists" within the party, and on low-level bureaucrats who are said to be obstructing reform.

1. Survey of China's Reform Efforts, 1 January - 30 June 1986

a. Introduction

The reform program promoted by China's current leadership aims at a transformation of the Chinese state and society that is quite as total as those attempted in the Great Leap Forward or the Cultural Revolution. But, Deng Xiaoping and his associates have tried to avoid the damaging emphasis on speed, mass enthusiasm, and immediate and total change that characterized those movements. The Chinese leadership presents reform as a long-term effort, involving continual readjustment and redefinition, and accompanied by discussion, debate, and wide consultation. The rhetoric of reform speaks of crossing a stream from stepping stone to stepping stone rather than leaping across, going against the current or relying completely on the helmsman. Reform in China, as in other Soviet-style political and economic systems, is necessarily a relatively long-term process marked by continued modification, compromise and redefinition. I

It is, therefore, difficult to judge the success of the reform program over any short period. The difficulty is compounded by the Chinese tendency to use the term "reform" very broadly, and to describe almost any government action or any change as "reform."² In the Chinese political context such imprecision has obvious benefits. It permits the assembly of broad coalitions; permits local leaders to describe their actions as part of a broad program; and permits national leaders to switch targets, and by redefining intermediate, short-term goals avoids identifying any program as an outright failure. Assessing the course of such a long-term process with such broadly defined goals is best done by paying close attention to concrete, key actions and to authoritative statements of policy by national leaders. In doing this, "reform" is understood to be a narrower category than "change" and to refer to purposeful alterations in overall structures or procedures or in relations between component subsystems.

b. Political Reform

During the first half of 1986 the broad policy goals for reform of China's government remained unchanged, although the April-June period saw a new stress on ideology, with much discussion of academic freedom, a new "Hundred Flowers" program, and "socialist democracy." The goals for reform of the government call for administration by educated, professionally competent officials whose actions are guided by law. This entails the replacement of elderly and ill-educated cadres by younger and better educated officials, and the development of an effective legal system. Government bodies are to be separated from economic enterprises, withdrawing to a supervisory role and enforcing and amending the laws that guide the "relatively independent" economic enterprises.

In a similar vein, the Communist Party and its many branches are to withdraw from day-to-day management of enterprises and units. The party now seeks to recruit intellectuals (which in Chinese usage refers to anyone with a senior middle school education), and to operate internally under norms (if not binding laws) stressing consultation, discussion, and rational decisionmaking, rather than "dogmatism" or arbitrary choices by leaders. The overall reform

program requires a major change in the way the Communist Party articulates with the rest of society and with the other organizations (factories, schools, government offices, the Armed Forces) to which its members belong. The role of the party and its branches after reform remains quite ill defined. Not surprisingly, given the sensitive nature of discussions of the party's power and proper role, few specific proposals have been made public. The vision projected however, for both party and government is one of greater professionalism, administrative rationality, and rule by laws rather than men.

The issue of the party's role and power did emerge in public accounts of disputes between reformist factory managers and obstructive factory party branches and party secretaries. National-level newspapers such as Renmin Ribao championed the reformers, castigating local officials and party cadres for failure to support the party's reform policies. What might earlier have been portrayed as conflicts between "Reds" and "experts" were presented as conflicts between those following the party policies and those party members who ignored or obstructed those policies.

Unconfirmed foreign press reports claimed that within the party the reform group was criticized in late 1985 for stressing economics at the expense of ideology and for instituting reforms and an open door policy that bred corruption and moral decay. Perhaps to counter such criticism, 1986 began with the announcement of a special anticorruption program, presided over by leaders associated with the reform tendency. Several party leaders, most notably Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang and rising star Hu Qili, discussed ideological questions. Their arguments stressed the necessity of updating and adapting Marxist theory, described as a science rather than a dogma. denied any opposition between economic development and "socialist spiritual civilization," and located the primary source of corruption and abuse of power in the legacy of China's "feudal" past rather than in foreign "bourgeois influences." As a remedy for admitted ills, they called for increased "socialist democracy." "Socialist democracy," Hu Qili made clear, does not involve elections, opposition parties or majority rule, but rather connotes improved communication between leaders and the public, widespread discussion, the making of decisions on rational grounds and after consulting expert opinion, and a certain degree of tolerance for disagreement. It is contrasted with "dogmatism" and arbitrary decisions by leaders who will not listen to advice or criticism, and with the "movement" or "campaign" style in which those who disagree are labelled political enemies and punished. Current difficulties, as with urban economic reform, are defined as consequences of the legacy of feudalism and the failure to practice socialist democracy. solution therefore lies in further reform, more opening up to the outside world, and the enforcement of laws regulating commercial and bureaucratic conduct. In political terms, these statements appear to be attempts to seize the political initiative, define the issues, interpret key concepts such as Marxism, legality and democracy in ways favorable to reformers, and to shift the ground of debate away from the success of the urban economic reforms, which many observers regard as stalled.

The calls for a new "Hundred Flowers" program--also known as the "Double Hundred" policy ("let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend")--which began in late April and were elaborated through May and June, were clearly a centrally-directed political initiative, the

purpose of which remains obscure. In themselves, the calls for academic freedom and open debate on scientific and scholarly issues were not new. targets of criticism were ill-defined "people" and low-level administrators who stifled discussion and were free with political criticism. administrators were being criticized at the same time for obstructing the efforts of reformist factory managers. The outpouring of repetitious articles, editorials and commentaries in all China's major media remained It may have represented an attempt to prepare public opinion for substantial changes in local government, the operation of the legal system, or inner-party procedures to be announced later in the year. A hint of this was suggested in an article which reported the opinions of factory managers who were "burning up with anger and anxiety" over the refusal of local officials to grant them the decision-making powers which State Council regulations had authorized. It concluded that "many factory directors believe the key...lies in comprehensive and corresponding reforms in other departments."3

The repetitiousness and frequency of the calls for a Double Hundred policy and academic freedom may have carried a political message. They demonstrated that the reform tendency within the party was in complete control of the media and the propaganda apparatus, unlike in late 1983 when the short-lived "Spiritual Pollution" movement was used to criticize the open door policy.

c. Military Reform

Demobilization and Resettlement

Nineteen eighty-six is a key year in reforming the Army's structure and further reducing and reorganizing the troops. People's Liberation Army (PLA) Chief of General Staff Yang Dezhi indicated that the Army has completed the first phase of streamlining and reorganization. The demobilization and resettlement is expected to continue through 1986 and perhaps into 1987.

Despite the difficulty of finding jobs for so many people, the early retirement program has been generally successful. Many local governments have set up training schools and centers to provide job training opportunities and placement services to assist demobilized military personnel to transfer to civilian work. After demobilization, the former military personnel are normally resettled in their home towns, aggravating an already serious housing problem. In Beijing, where there are a large number of demobilized soldiers, houses are in short supply, and though the rate of construction may have increased, rehousing will be completed at the earliest by the end of 1986.

The main targets of the first phase in streamlining the Armed Forces were the ground force units, such as the field army units and provincial military districts, and the combat units of the Navy and the Air Force. The main targets of the second phase, which is currently under way, are the logistics sector, military institutes, and hospitals affiliated with the PLA. All the people's armed forces departments at the city and county level are to be transferred to local authorities and the newly established district people's armed forces departments will become "independent" military organs under the dual leadership of the local governments and the military authorities.

Training and Education

With the massive manpower reductions, the present emphasis is on the improvement of training and education and the application of high technology for modern defense. The PLA is establishing an improved system under which new recruits will undergo 4 months of regular, rigorous, and systematic training conducted by a specialized infantry and artillery training regiment before they are assigned to serve in PLA units. In March, a combined tactical training center was opened in the Nanjing Military Region. When fully completed, in a few years, it will be equipped with an electronic installation to direct training and a training battlefield for combat exercises. It will simulate various enemy actions and permit PLA units to engage in joint air and ground forces exercises. All units of group armies in the entire Armed Forces will come on a rotational basis for training with combat simulators.

The Chinese Air Force is introducing electronic, laser, and computerized equipment to improve its training methods, and the command systems of many air units have been computerized in order to improve their ability to respond quickly. The Air Force has conducted tactical training exercises involving ground troops since the beginning of 1986. The Navy's first long-range exercise in the Western Pacific, in late May 1986, included several dozen coordinated combat maneuvers and covered several thousand nautical miles. This exercise was designed to meet the requirements of future naval warfare and to explore new ways of carrying out coordinated naval training. It tested the units' wartime communications, security, ship maintenance, equipment and facilities, and political work.

The three-level system of military academies will be implemented to upgrade the training of PLA officers. The junior command academies will recruit senior middle school graduates and outstanding squad leaders; the middle-level command academies will recruit officers at battalion level and will provide them with advanced professional education; and the senior command academies will recruit officers at and above the division level and provide them with comprehensive higher education.

The National Defense University (NDU) in Beijing is the PLA's highest-level military academy, developed from the merger of the former military, political, and logistics academies. Zhang Zhen, formerly Deputy Chief of General Staff, is President of the NDU, and Li Desheng, former Commander of the Shenyang Military Region, is the Political Commissar. Classes will begin on 1 September 1986. The university will train senior military, political, and logistics commanders for the PLA ground, naval, and air forces, as well as senior staff officers, military theory researchers, and government cadres. Graduates are expected to be well prepared not only in military affairs, but in economics, diplomacy, and other sciences. This represents a major reform in the training of PLA officers.

Defense Industry

Premier Zhao Ziyang has indicated that the policy for military industry is to serve both civilian and military needs, and that military industries are to establish links with civilian enterprises. In January, the Minister of the Ordnance Industry ordered all weapons factories to switch part

of their manufacturing capacity to civilian production. China plans that by 1990 the military industries will devote 80 percent of their production to civilian goods for both the domestic market and for export. The military industries were to hold their first international trade fair in April 1986 in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone adjacent to Hong Kong. In short, the same principles guiding civilian industry—market exchange, responsibility for producing marketable goods, and "horizontal" links with other industries—are to be applied to military industries as well.

Problems

In an effort to curb corruption in the Armed Forces, the Central Military Commission released a circular requiring all spending, production, and management departments within the military to undergo a thorough inspection. A special office, headed by Hong Xuezhi, Director of the PLA General Logistics Department, has been established to carry out the inspection. On 5 March, the PLA dispatched 150 officers to units across the country to investigate army finances and to educate officers and soldiers on financial discipline. The efforts to involve the Army in national modernization and economic development have provided more opportunities for military units to make money, sometimes in extralegal ways. However, because of efforts to maintain morale by keeping scandals out of the limelight, details on corruption cases have been scarce.

d. Economic Reform

Discussion

During the first half of 1986, vigorous and wide-ranging discussion of economic questions continued. Both academic journals and the daily press published articles on such issues as different types of ownership (state, collective, private, leased, joint-stock), the best provisions of a bankruptcy law, the proper role of banks, and the best ways for the central government to use "economic levers" (taxes, monetary policy, interest rates) to guide the economy. Articles often concluded with policy recommendations, offering policymakers a range of options, suggestions, and criticism of existing arrangements. Some of the suggestions probably will be implemented, if only as experiments.

Policy

No new policies for economic reform were announced, nor were the reform goals set out in 1984 and 1985 repudiated or even seriously modified. The official line is that 1986 is to be a year of consolidation. Further action on price reform, the heart of any serious economic reform, has been explicitly ruled out. Repeated statements by such national leaders as Premier Zhao Ziyang reaffirm support for the general goals set out in the October 1984 CCP Central Committee "Decision on Reform of the Economic Structure." In fact, the draft of the 7th Five-Year Plan (1986-90) calls for further reforms, envisaging more decentralization, greater decisionmaking powers for managers, a wider role for market exchange, and less direct administrative control over enterprises and the economy.

The policy calls chiefly for expansion of "horizontal" or "lateral" ties between enterprises or regions designed to combat the wasteful duplication of effort and investment produced by the economy's widespread compartmentalization and administrative barriers to exchange. This implies a greater role for market exchange and a restriction of the power of ministerial and local government officials over enterprises and their managers.

Administrative Actions and Experiments

The period saw continued efforts to translate the general goals of reform into specific administrative and legal measures. The most significant step was the adoption by the National People's Congress in April 1986 of a new Civil Code. The Code is intended to provide a clear legal framework for cooperative, contract-based and market-oriented economic activity. The other key legal document, the bankruptcy law, was widely discussed but not implemented. The bankruptcy law is intended to break the "iron rice bowl" of unconditional state support for even the most inefficient enterprises. The law reportedly has been held up by disagreements over treatment of workers whose jobs would be lost, as well as the issue of factories whose losses stem from the irrationalities of the price system rather than their own mismanagement. State Council regulations on contractual associations, double taxation of such associations, and the operation of the commercial system were also promulgated.

Several experiments in urban economic reform received wide publicity. Many of these came from Shenyang, one of three cities (along with Wuhan and Chongqing) granted special freedom to experiment with economic reforms. Most of the reforms centered on changes in factory management, including performance contracts for managers, leasing money-losing factories to managers who are to get a share of any profits, and giving managers broader powers, including those of hiring and firing. One unfortunate Shenyang factory has been cited repeatedly as the prime candidate for the first post-Liberation bankruptcy. In line with the focus on factory management and reform, little publicity went to Shenzhen and the other coastal special economic zones.

Problems and Political Solutions

A number of Government regulations and much national publicity were essentially reactive, representing responses to urgent problems rather than the logical unfolding of a long-term strategy. The most common problem was attempts by local officials or the Communist Party branches within enterprises to continue to control the enterprises or to harass or dismiss reform-minded managers. By June such official organs as Beijing Review and China Daily were publishing sharp criticisms of local administrative offices and so-called "corporations" for their refusal to grant enterprises the freedom of action they are supposedly entitled to, and for their imposition of unauthorized fees, taxes, and service charges. Such instances of local bureaucratic malfeasance or nonfeasance represent longstanding and widespread problems. The public criticism of enterprise party branches and party secretaries raises the very sensitive issue of their as yet undefined role in a reformed economic structure based on expertise and managerial professionalsim. By June, China's offical media were beginning to suggest that reform of the political structure was the only way to curb abuses. The link between economic reform and

political reform was thus highlighted, and the focus of the reform movement shifted back toward politics.

e. Conclusion

During the first half of 1986, China's leadership continued its calls for reform. Although there was more rhetoric than action in economic reform, some significant steps were taken and politically sensitive topics such as the proper role of Communist Party branches and their cadres in factories and other institutions were openly discussed. Some concrete steps toward economic reform were taken, most notably the adoption of the new Civil Code, and China's military continued to demobilize troops and to improve officer training. During May and June the reform program as a whole took a new turn, as strong emphasis was put on ideology and the need for changes in the way administrators and party cadres make decisions. As of June 30 this policy trend was still very much in process, and its ultimate goal remained unclear. However, it was clearly aimed at lower-level officials, on whom the blame for slow progress in reforms was being placed.

NOTES

Hansen C.K. Leung, "The Role of Leadership in Adaptation to Change: Lessons of Economic Reforms in the USSR and China," Studies in Comparative Communism, vol. 18, no. 4 (Winter 1985), pp. 227-31.

²Robert F. Dernberger, "Reflections of a China Specialist," in Janet A. Cady, ed., Economic Reform in China: Report of the American Economists Study Team to the People's Republic of China (New York: National Committee on US-China Relations, 1986), pp. 4-5.

3"Enterprises Demand More Power," <u>Beijing Review</u>, no. 29 (16 June 1986), pp. 6-7.

CHRONOLOGY

RECORD: 157

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators GOVERNMENT Leadership

China's leadership rejuvenation reached its climax in September 1985 when 131 party veterans, including 10 from the Political Bureau and 54 from the Central Committee, resigned. Deng Xiaoping described the rejuvenation process as an "organizational guarantee for the continuity of the party's (reformist) policies." The task of

(reformist) policies." The task of implementing the reforms as well as resolving the problems has been placed firmly on the shoulders of six "rising stars," promoted to Political Bureau and/or Secretariat membership in September 1985: Hu Qili, Tian Jiyun, Qiao Shi, Li Peng, Wang Zhaoguo and Hao Jianxiu. Hu Qili chaired a Party Secretariat meeting in January 1986 in which he announced the

January 1986 in which he announced the formation of a top-level anticorruption

campaign, headed by Qiao Shi.

Bonavia, David. "Forward to Uncertainty: The Very Success of Deng's Reforms Inhibts

Political Consensus." <u>Far Eastern Economic</u> Review (Hong Kong), 20 March 1986, pp. 57,

59-62.

Item Date

Sources

86/01/20

RECORD: 159

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators GOVERNMENT Corruption

In Deng Xiaoping's words, China took "a brave step" on the path of reform in 1985 in many important aspects of China's urban and rural economic systems, including the sensitive price and wage systems. In 1986, reform policies continue to be the priority tasks of the party and government. It is to be a year of "consolidation, assimilation, supplementation, and improvement" on the basis of the reform policies of 1985. At the beginning of this year, the CCP Central Committee passed a resolution to fight against corruption in party and government. The reform and rectification are working hand in hand toward the common goal—the reform policies.

Sources

"A Brave Step." <u>Renmin Ribao</u> (Overseas Edition), 12 February 1986, p. 2, in FBIS/China, 12 February 1986, p. Kl.

Item Date

86/02/12

RECORD: 196

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators GOVERNMENT Ideology

At the CCP National Conference of Delegates in September 1985, Deng Xiaoping proposed that cadres, especially leading cadres, should be required to study Marxist theories. However, a

problem exists in the interpretation of Marxism. The reformists, who advocate

rejecting or reinterpreting certain Marxist tenets to conform to current realities are in disagreement with the conservatives, who take

a more orthodox view of Marxist theory.

Sources Chang Chen-pang. "To Study Marxist Theories:

A New Requirement for Chinese Communist

Cadres." <u>Issues & Studies</u> (Taipei), vol. 22,

no. 3, March 1986, pp. 1-3. 86/03/00

Item Date

RECORD: 160

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT Faction

In the course of drawing up the guidelines of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, Deng Xiaoping was under great pressure and encountered a number of difficulties. Chen Yun and his supporters criticized Hu Yaobang for "relaxing the ideological work" and "yielding to capitalism." Hu Qiaomu argued that the special economic zones are "concessions," the

special economic zones are "concessions," the open-door policy is "colonization without colonists," and the opening up has corrupted China's social values. Because of the runaway industrial growth in 1985, Chen Yun and his followers tried to put the blame on the reformists. They argued that the pace of reforms should be slowed down. Finally, the reformists and Chen Yun's faction worked out

the guidelines for reforms in 1986 as "consolidating, digesting, replenishing, and

improving."

Sources Lo Ping, "Notes on a Northern Journey,"

Cheng Ming (Hong Kong), 1 April 1986, in

FBIS/China, 3 April 1986, p. Wl.

Item Date

86/04/01

RECORD: 211

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators GOVERNMENT Ideology

Addressing social scientists in Shanghai on April 14, Political Bureau member Hu Qili discusses "spiritual civilization." He says:

Continued

"We should not let people believe that we now stress spiritual civilization simply because there have been some troubles with our economic structural reform. This is not true." He argues that economic reform and spiritual civilization are mutually reinforcing, and identifies "negative tendencies" such as corruption with China's "feudal tradition" and underdeveloped forces of production. The only cure is to carry out further reforms and continue the opening up policy. Education and enforcement of laws are the way to improve the party's working style. "To prevent cadres of all ranks from abusing their powers and engaging in trade, we must further develop the commodity economy to create an environment of balanced competition and further improve our legal system." Chen Maodi. "Create an Atmosphere of Democracy, Harmony and Trust - Hu Qili Has Heart-to-Heart Talks with Intellectuals in Shanghai." <u>Liaowang</u> (Overseas Edition) (Hong Kong), 2 June 1986, in FBIS/China, 4 June

Sources

1986, pp .Kl-7. 86/04/14

Item Date

RECORD: 195

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT

Decentralization

The Seventh 5-year Plan calls for a significant transfer of administrative power from central authorities to local governments and a gradual removal of government at all levels from business and industry. The Plan states that "except for a few special government departments and industries, no ministries, provinces, or autonomous regions will exercise direct control over enterprises." However, the Plan will be difficult to implement because it calls for a decrease in party and central leadership power and could lead to social unrest if market forces are not properly managed.

Sources

Sterba, James P. "China's Leaders Show Daring with New Plan." Asian Wall Street Journal (Hong Kong), 16 April 1986, pp. 1, 5.

86/04/16

Item Date

RECORD: 163

Objectives Subobjectives

GOVERNMENT Ideology

Continued

Indicators

In a 23 March speech to party members attending the National People's Congress, member and possible Political Bureau successor to Hu Yaobang as Party General Secretay, Hu Qili defines "socialist democracy." It is a process in which leaders visit grass-roots units and solicit opinions from the masses, explain policies and rely on persuasion through rational discussion. Political struggle, criticism of people on

principle, and arbitrary issuing of orders are to be avoided. Differences of opinion are allowed. "Socialist democracy" is essentially a matter of open communication between leaders and the masses, and operates through rational discussion rather than political struggle and

mass movements.

Sources

Hongqi (Beijing), No.8, 16 April 1986, in

FBIS/China, 29 April 1986, p. Kl-6.

Item Date

86/04/23

RECORD: 210

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT Ideology

Hu Qili, member of the Political Bureau and the Party Secretariat, delivers a May Day

speech in Beijing, in which he calls for the continued development of Marxism. Declaring that it has never been a rigid dogma, he calls on party members to have the courage to break with (Marxist) conclusions that experience has proven outmoded or incorrect. "We must oppose

mental ossification and avoid regarding Marxism as dogma that never changes." Xinhua (Beijing), 30 April 1986, in FBIS/China, 2 May 1986, pp. K2-10.

Sources

86/04/30

Item Date

RECORD: 190

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT

Democratization

Recent calls by the Chinese leadership for greater intellectual freedom have created the opportunity for academics and artists to hold discussions on a wide range of politically sensitive subjects, such as how to improve on

concepts of socialism.

Zhang Xiaogang. "State Reforms Set Sources

Academics Abuzz. " China Daily (Beijing), 15

May 1986, p. 4.

Item Date

86705/15

RECORD: 198

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT Problems

The factory director responsibility system, designed to increase state-owned factory efficiency, profitability, and quality control, is perceived by in-plant party committee members as a direct threat to their power and perquisites. The two main areas of contention are the factory director's

authority to appoint middle-level leadership cadres, which some say violates the principle that the party should be in charge of cadres, and the claim that certain factory directors

have abused their authority and engaged in "unhealthy" and illegal activities. Delfs, Robert. "Who's in Charge?" Far

Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong), 22 May

1986, p. 64. 86/05/22

Item Date

Sources

RECORD: 197

Objectives Subobjectives GOVERNMENT

Decentralization Indicators

In order to improve efficiency in industrial enterprises, party committees now focus on political, ideological, and organizational work instead of getting involved in day-to-day

production and managerial affairs.

Sources

"Units Give Directors More Power." China

Daily (Beijing), 31 May 1986, p. 3.

Item Date

86/05/31

RECORD: 191

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT Policy

Leaders of the Communist Party and social scientists have become aware that successful reform of the economic system is contigent on the implementation of political reforms. For example, Deng Xiaoping has stated that economic reform involves reform in the fields of politics, education, science, etc. Qili, a younger leader of the Communist Party, announced on May Day that reforms would be made in the political, as well as economic and cultural, structures to build a high level of democracy and civilization in China. A commentary in Renmin Ribao argued that eliminating obstacles to economic reform, such as bureaucratism and the abuse of power for

Continued

private gain, depends on reform of the

political structure.

Sources

Huang Qing. "China to Extend Scope of

China Daily (Beijing), 9 June 1986, Reform."

p. 4.

Item Date

86/06/09

RECORD: 192

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT Democratization

Numerous articles have appeared recently in the Chinese press on the theme of "Double Hundred" in an attempt by party reformers to

allow greater freedom to intellectuals,

The articles primarily in academic research.

appear to be coordinated by the party

leadership, probably through Zhu Houze, head

of the Party Propaganda Department, who

replaced the conservative Deng Liqun in July

1985.

Sources

Delfs, Robert. "Contending Thoughts - Party Liberals Push for Free Academic Debate." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong), 19 June

1986, pp. 49-50. 86/06/19

Item Date

RECORD: 193

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT

Democratization

The Chinese leadership has launched a "New

Hundred Flowers" campaign to increase

intellectual freedom, to promote "democratization," and to achieve

"de-dogmatization and renewal of ideology." Four reformers who have been at the forefront of the campaign are: Hu Qili, member of the

Zhu Houze, CCP Central Secretariat;

propaganda chief; Liu Zaifu, researcher in literary theory at the Chinese Academy of

Social Sciences; and Ma Ding, philosophy researcher at Nanjing University. The article

maintains that the current drive lacks a

popular base, and therefore Beijing can easily abort the temporary liberalization once it has

outlived its political usefulness.

Sources

"A Time to Speak Out." Asiaweek (Hong

Kong), 22 June 1986, pp. 47-56.

Item Date

86/06/22

RECORD: 194

Objectives Subobjectives GOVERNMENT

Ideology Indicators

During a visit to Italy, Hu Yaobang, CCP General Secretary, stated that Marxism is not an immutable dogma and that it must be

constantly enriched and developed through practice. He said that Communists must be adept at rejecting or replacing individual Marxist concepts that are either outdated or

impractical.

Sources

"Marxism Not Rigidly Dogmatic, Wang Gangyi. Hu Says. China Daily (Beijing), 23 June 1986,

86/06/23

Item Date

RECORD: 212

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT Ideology

Addressing the Chinese Association for Science and Technology, Political Bureau member Hu Qili calls on scientists to keep to the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, carry forward democracy and encourage the free discussion of different academic views. He concludes: "The party's policy of letting one hundred schools of thought contend is the concrete manifestation of socialist democracy in the field of science

and technology."

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 23 June 1986, in FBIS/China, 24 June 1986, p. K3

Item Date

86/06/23

RECORD: 199

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

GOVERNMENT

Democratization Communist Party officials and scholars claim that China's reform program has created an "unprecedented political democratization." They hold that there has been a broadening of academic freedom and say that they are calling for legislation to ensure its continuation. An article in Renmin Ribao argued that there must be detailed guarantees of civil rights, such as laws to protect the press, and to protect copyrights, inventions, visual media, academic and cultural societies, and literary

creations.

Sources

Zhang Xiaogang. "Spell Out Freedom,

Academics Urge." China Daily (Beijing), 24

June 1986, p. 4.

Item Date

86/06/24

RECORD: 205

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY Reorganization

Jiefangjun Bao claims in its New Year's

message that a greater effort should be made to build up a modernized revolutionary army in the current reform. 1986 will be a key year in

reforming the Army's structure and further

reducing and reorganizing the troops. China Daily (Beijing), 8 Jan 86, p. 4.

Sources Item Date

86/01/08

RECORD: 153

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY Training

China's National Defense University (NDU) is

established in Beijing as the PLA's

highest-level military academy. Zhang Zhen, formerly Deputy Chief of General Staff, is appointed as President of the NDU and Li Desheng, former Commander of the Shenyang MR,

as the Political Commissar. The NDU was founded by the merger of the former military,

political and logistics academies. Classes

will begin on 1 September 1986.

Defense & Foreign Affairs Daily, (Washington), 10 January 1986, pp. 1-2.

Item Date

Sources

86/01/10

RECORD: 204

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY Militia

On 15 January 1986, the regional CCP

Committee held the 8th plenum of the People's Armed Forces Committee in Nanning. The meeting worked out plans for the regional militia to be reduced in size, to improve its quality, and to adjust the strategic guiding ideology of national defense, so that the military will

better serve economic construction.

Guangxi Regional Service (Nanning), 16 Sources

January 1986, in JPRS-CPS-86-021, 19 Feb 86,

p. 50. 86/01/16

Item Date

RECORD: 202

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY

Science and Technology China held its first International Defense Industries Modernization Expo 86 in Beijing. It focused on China's need to modernize with Western technology. One hundred and sixty

Continued

companies from 17 nations and regions participated, with the US and France prominent. Products, models, and samples included aviation, missiles, electronics, conventional weapons, and production equipment worth US \$10 million, of which about one-third was offered for sale. About US \$2.5 million worth of business was concluded with the Chinese.

Sources

Jane's Defence Weekly (London), 15 February

1986, p. 233.

Item Date

86/02/15

RECORD: 167

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY Industry

Premier Zhao Ziyang has indicated that China's current policy for military industry is to transform its facilities to serve both military and civilian needs and to establish

is to transform its facilities to serve both military and civilian needs and to establish links with civilian enterprises. The Ministry of Ordnance Industry and Heilongjiang Province are establishing their first cooperation plan this year. China has planned that by 1990 the military industries will devote 80 percent of their production to civilian goods. According to the Seventh 5-Year Plan(1986-1990).

to the Seventh 5-Year Plan(1986-1990), military industries are to set up a network of

export-oriented production.

Sources Item Date China Daily (Beijing), 5 March 1986, p. 4.

86/03/05

RECORD: 155

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators MILITARY Problems

The PLA announced on 6 March 1986 that more than 150 officers are being sent to PLA units countrywide to investigate Army finances and to educate officers and soldiers on financial discipline. The Hong Kong newspaper Ming Pao has reported that soldiers requesting home leaves, study leaves or transfers or seeking permission to accept prizes or even join the party, have had to bribe officers with wine and cigarettes. Nanjing radio reported that "13 persons of a certain regimental garrison" had taken advantage of the Army's streamlining and reorganization, and had left the PLA unit taking videotape recorders, cameras and other public property. Ta Kung Pao in Hong Kong also reported that the commercial activities of the

Continued

sons of PLA generals Ye Fei and Xiao Jinguang

Sources

were being investigated. Lee, Mary. "Corruption Crackdown: The PLA Mounts a Quiet War on Internal Abuses." Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, 20 March

1986, p. 36.

Item Date

86/03/20

RECORD: 156

Objectives

MILITARY

Subobjectives Indicators

Demobilization In 1985 the PLA demobilization affected 800,000 officers and men. Despite the

difficulty of finding jobs for so many people, the early retirement program is expected to continue in 1986, and perhaps into 1987. Bonavia, David. "The military: no more the

Sources

sacred warriors." Far Eastern Economic Review,

Hong Kong, 20 March 1986, pp. 60-61.

Item Date

RECORD: 154

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY Training

86/03/20

The PLA has instituted a system under which new recruits will undergo four months of rigorous and systematic training before they are assigned to PLA units. A training regiment whose primary task is to train new recruits and squad leaders has been organized. The first group trained by the training regiment are better than previous recruits in political and ideological understanding, military skill,

work style, discipline, and physical

condition.

Xinhua (Beijing), in Chinese, 22 March 1986,

in FBIS/China, 24 March 1986, p. Kl4.

86/03/24 Item Date

RECORD: 158

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

Sources

MILITARY Streamlining

The process of streamlining and reorganization of the Chinese Army is divided

The main target of the first into two phases. phase was to streamline the ground force units, and the combat units of the Navy and The main targets of the second the Air Force. phase are the logistics sector, the military institutes, and hospitals affiliated with the

PLA. All the people's armed forces

Continued

departments at the county level are to be

transferred to local authorities.

Sources Li Wei. "Yang Dezhi Describes First Phase of

Streamlining and Reorganization of the Chinese

Army as Having Basically Come to an End."

Zhongguo Xinwen She (Beijing), 26 March 1986,

in FBIS/China, 27 March 1986, p. K4.

Item Date 86/03/26

RECORD: 162

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators MILITARY Training

Han Huaizhi, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, indicated that China needs to reform the military academies and their training methods. The Central Military Commission plans

to upgrade the educational level of all

officers by the end of the year 2000. Officers

who are promoted in the field must be

re-educated in military academies. China plans to increase its military exchange with foreign

countries, sending students abroad and inviting foreign military experts to give lectures on management, technology, military

science and equipment.

Sources Liu Dizhong. "Army Demob on Schedule to Cut

1M Off Forces." China Daily (Beijing), 2 April

1986, p. 1.

Item Date 86/04/00

RECORD: 161

Objectives Subobjectives MILITARY Weaponry

Indicators In April 1986, the US announces the sale of \$550 million worth of military electronics

equipment to China to help modernize China's F-8 fighter interceptors. It is Washington's first major direct military sale to Beijing. The sale requires the assignment of 25 US contractor personnel to China for a minimum of nine months. Eleven would remain in China for

nine months. Eleven would remain in three years.

Ta Kung Pao (Hong Kong), 10 April 1986, p. 13.

Item Date 86/04/10

RECORD: 165

Objectives Subobjectives

Sources

MILITARY Training

Indicators The first PLA combined tactical training center was inaugurated in Nanjing in April

Continued

1986. Li Peiji, director of the training center, indicated that the center is providing simulated battlefield training for combined warfare. All units of group armies will come to this center on a rotational basis for

training in the next few years.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 22 April 1986, in

FBIS/China 24 April 1986, p. K9.

Item Date

86/04/22

RECORD: 203

Objectives

MILITARY

Subobjectives Indicators

Reorganization

The transfer of command of county and city People's Armed Forces departments to local governments is proceeding gradually in China.

Now, more than 60 people's armed forces

departments selected for the experiment have

completed their transfer.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 2 May 1986, in

FBIS/China, 6 May 1986, p. K17.

Item Date

86/05/02

RECORD: 166

Objectives

MILITARY

Subobjectives

Reorganization

Indicators

The CCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission have issued a circular to transfer command of People's Armed Forces departments to county

and city governments.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), in Chinese, in FBIS/China,

6 May 1986, pp. K17-18.

Item Date

86/05/06

RECORD: 201

Objectives Subobjectives MILITARY

Militia

Indicators

On 5 May 1986 in Shanghai, the Nanshi

District People's Armed Forces Department was transfered to the command of the municipal CCP Committee and the municipal government. will be the first pilot unit to become an independent military organ under the dual leadership of the local authorities and the

military authorities.

Sources

FBIS/China 15 May 86, p. Ol.

Item Date

86/05/15

RECORD: 206

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY Science and Technology

At an enlarged meeting of the Party Committee of the Academy of Military Science, Minister of National Defense Zhang Aiping pointed out that the development of military sciences must be ahead of the development of China's armed forces. In order to raise the standards in scientific research, the Academy of Military Sciences is establishing ties with foreign military units and institutions, and recruiting younger and more academically

qualified scientists.

Sources Item Date FBIS/China 21 May 86, p. K13.

86/05/21

RECORD: 207

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY Science and Technology

The first automated command work station of the General Staff Headquarters of the Chinese Armed Forces was established on 8 May. station uses a computer network in the automated command system as well as for its office work. The complete automation of the command system at various levels in the Chinese Armed Forces is expected to be completed during the Seventh 5-Year Plan

(1986-1990).

Sources Item Date FBIS/China 21 May 86, p. Kl4.

86/05/21

RECORD: 209

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

MILITARY Training

The PLA Navy staged its first long-range exercise in the Western Pacific during the The exercise included last part of May. several dozen naval coordinated combat maneuvers and covered several thousand The exercise also tested the nautical miles. units' wartime communications, security, ship maintenance, equipment and facilities, and political work. The exercise was designed to meet the requirements of future naval warfare and to explore new ways of carrying out

coordinated naval training.

Sources

Wen Wei Po (Hong Kong), 10 June 86, p. 2, in

FBIS/China 10 June 86, p. Wl.

Item Date

86/06/10

RECORD: 208

Objectives

MILITARY .

Subobjectives

Demobilization

Indicators

The transfer of Army cadres to civilian work has been proceeding successfully. All

localities have set up training schools and classes to provide job training and placement

for the resettlement of Army cadres.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 11 June 86 in FBIS/China,

12 June 86, p. K6.

Item Date

86/06/11

RECORD: 168

Objectives Subobjectives ECONOMIC Policy

Indicators

Premier Zhao Ziyang, addressing a national conference on planning and economic work, says

that the major task for 1986 will be to

"consolidate, digest, supplement and improve" 1985's achievements in reform. No major new steps in price reform will be taken in 1986. He calls for the promotion of "horizontal"

economic ties between departments and regions.

Sources

Xinhua, (Beijing), 17 January 1986, in FBIS/China, 22 January 1986, pp. K1-3.

Item Date

86/01/17

RECORD: 169

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC New Laws

A bankruptcy law is being drafted by a

special group set up by the National People's Congress, the State Council, the Supreme

People's Court and other unspecified central departments. The bankruptcy law is intended to

be a key part of urban economic reform, providing sanctions for poor management. Ta Kung Pao Weekly Supplement (Hong Kong),

Sources

23 January 1986, p. 3.

Item Date

86/01/23

RECORD: 170

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC Problems

The Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee and the Provincial People's Government forbid any administrative body from levying fees on basic level enterprises. The document states: "The

financial, auditing, banking, price and industrial and commercial departments are strictly prohibited from . . . fixing excessive service charges and collecting

unwarranted fees."

Sources

Liaoning Ribao, 9 January 1986, in FBIS/China, 4 February 1986, p. S7

Item Date

86/02/04

RECORD: 171

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC Problems -

The Anhui Provincial Government issues a notice on protection of the legitimate rights of self-employed workers and businessmen.

Local industrial and commercial departments

Continued

are forbidden to levy unauthorized fees, delay permission for licenses, impose new taxes, destroy shops or stalls, or to refuse to supply goods or raw materials to self-employed

workers and businessmen.

Sources

Anhui Provincial Radio Broadcast, 18 February 1986, in FBIS/China, 26 February

1986, p.Ol.

Item Date

86/02/26

RECORD: 172

Objectives Subobjectives **ECONOMIC** Management

Renmin Ribao reports the "correct" decision Indicators of a Yingkou City (Liaoning) CCP Municipal Committee to support a reform-minded factory manager in his dispute with the factory party committee and some plant cadres. Renmin Ribao

calls for support of reformers and managers who take risks to improve productivity.

Sources

Renmin Ribao (Beijing), 13 February 1986, in

FBIS/China, 26 February 1986, pp. K1-3.

Item Date

86/02/26

RECORD: 173

Objectives Subobjectives ECONOMIC Markets

Indicators The Director of the State Administration of

Supplies, Ling Yuxun, announces that the scope of market exchanges of such basic commodities

as steel, cement, timber and coal has

increased. In Suzhou, 75 percent of the steel, 70 percent of the coal, and 44 percent of the timber is now provided by the market rather

than central allocation.

Sources Item Date China Daily (Beijing), 11 March 1986, p. 4.

86/03/11

RECORD: 174

Objectives Subobjectives ECONOMIC Policy

Indicators Speaking at the first National Conference on

Restructuring the Urban Economic System, Premier Zhao Ziyang reiterates his call for further "horizontal" links between enterprises and elimination of administrative barriers to

economic exchange and cooperation.

Sources Item Date China Daily, (Beijing), 17 March 1986, p. 1.

86/03/17

RECORD: 175

Objectives Subobjectives ECONOMIC

Price reform

Vice Premier Tian Jiyun says the main Indicators

objective of price-related work in 1986 is to keep prices basically stable. Although price reform is a necessary long-term goal, it requires careful study and preparation.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 22 March 1986, in FBIS/China, 24 March 1986, pp. Kll-12.

Item Date

86/03/24

RECORD: 176

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC Policy

Presenting the draft of the Seventh 5-Year Plan (1986-1990) to the National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang calls for

further economic reforms. The Plan envisages further decentralization, extension of market exchange, decisionmaking powers for enterprise managers, and new macroeconomic regulators to

replace administrative control over

enterprises and exchanges.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 25 March 1986, in FBIS/China, 25 March 1986, pp. K9-11.

Item Date

86/03/25

RECORD: 177

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC New Laws

The State Council issues new regulations on "horizontal" economic associations. Such associations must be formed voluntarily, cannot be restricted by barriers between regions, administrative departments or sectors, are to receive support from banks and, in some cases, tax reductions. Double taxation of associations is prohibited.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 23 March 1986, in FBIS/China, 27 March 1986, pp. K28-29.

Item Date

86/03/27

RECORD: 178

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC Management

The managers of 20 state-run Beijing factories producing chemicals, machines, and textiles sign contracts specifying targets

for profits, quality of goods, and

technological innovation. Their salaries and

Continued

job retention will depend on their success in

reaching the targets.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 5 April 1986, in JPRS

CEA-86-050, 29 April 1986, p.141.

Item Date

RECORD: 1

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC

86/04/05

New Laws The National People's Congress adopts the general provisions of the civil law. The new code defines legal persons, and agency and property rights. One third of its provisions

define the legal status of economic entitities, including the rural contract production household and urban household enterprises. One purpose of the new legal code

is to create a legal framework within which state and collective enterprises can interact on a voluntary, contractual basis.

Sources

Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong), 17

April 1986, p .52.

Item Date

86/04/17

RECORD: 164

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC

Price reform During a meeting with some well-known Hong Kong personages in April, Deng indicats that the reform of the pricing system is most sensitive and the commodity prices have been basically stabilized in China. In 1985 China's reform policies were accelerated too fast. Therefore, in 1986 China is to reduce the speed of implementation in order to digest, readjust, and strengthen the reforms, to prepare for the new policies for 1987. He further states that the Seventh 5-Year Plan is designed to do a good job for the reforms.

Sources

Hou Tung-hai. "Deng Xiaoping Hopes that Basic Law Will be Drawn Up Well. " Ta Kung Pao (Hong Kong) in Chinese 20 April 1986, p. 1. in

FBIS/China 21 April 1986, p. Wl.

Item Date

86/04/20

RECORD: 179

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC Management

The State selects 6,400 large and medium enterprises (which produce 66 percent of the state income) to be pace setters in management

Continued

modernization. The State has set targets improving the quality of goods and for reducing the consumption of energy and raw

materials.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 26 April 1986, in JPRS

CEA-86-059, 15 May 1986, p.10.

Item Date

86/04/26

RECORD: 181

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC Personnel

The national meeting of labor and personnel bureau directors announces that during the Seventh 5-Year Plan (1986-1990) the reform of

the wage and hiring systems will have

priority. The goals are to establish equity and comparability of wages among enterprises, to devise systems that will reward effort, and to gradually adopt a new hiring system that will promote the rational flow and use of

labor resources and of cadre talents.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 7 May 1986, in FBIS/China,

9 May 1986, pp. K17-18.

Item Date

86/05/07

RECORD: 180

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC Policy

The Director of the State Administration for Commerce and Industry, addressing a national conference in Beijing, reiterates that party and government departments and their cadres are forbidden to run enterprises or to use their position to seek commercial advantage. He reports that in 1985 the licenses of over 8,700 enterprises run by party and government departments were revoked, and another 15,000 enterprises were separated from their founding

departments to be run independently.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), 8 May 1986, in FBIS/China,

9 May 1986, p. Kl6.

Item Date

86/05/08

RECORD: 182

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC

Decentralization

The Ministry of the Electronics Industry announces that it has put all of its 172 enterprises under local administrative control. The enterprises will operate as

Continued

"relatively independent" organizations

responsible for their own profits and losses.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing) in <u>US-China Economic</u> Journal (New York), 14 May 1986, p. 4.

86/05/14 Item Date

RECORD: 183

Objectives Subobjectives ECONOMIC Management

In an experiment, 47 State-owned factories Indicators

in Shenyang have been leased to managers who have full power over the factories' operations, including the right to hire and fire workers. The managers have a right to a share of the profits, but must compensate the State if they fail to meet their contracted

quota and run at a loss.

Sources

Xinhua (Beijing), in Ta Kung Pao Weekly Supplement (Hong Kong), 22 May 1986, p. 3.

Item Date 86/05/22

RECORD: 185

Objectives Subobjectives

ECONOMIC Problems

Indicators Economic Daily (Beijing) reports that a

survey of Beijing factories shows that in many cases State Council regulations on enterprise autonomy, taxation and use of resources are ignored, and power over factories is held by "administrative corporations" which are but local government offices under a new name. China Daily (Beijing), 5 June 1986, p. 7.

Sources Item Date

86/06/05

RECORD: 187

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

ECONOMIC Problems

Beijing Review reports widespread complaints by factory managers that decision-making powers supposedly given them by the State Council in May 1984 regulations have never actually been granted. Factory managers, described as angry and on the verge of

resigning, believe the key lies in

comprehensive reform of other departments such as the local administrative companies that

"supervise" them.

Sources Item Date Beijing Review, 16 June 1986, pp. 6-7.

86/06/16

RECORD: 186

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators ECONOMIC Problems

A provincial factory director, fired in

December 1985 for "going too far in management

reform," is reinstated with greater

decisionmaking powers after his case is given wide publicity by Renmin Ribao. The leadership of the Zhengzhou Number Two Transport Company,

responsible for firing the director, is

reported to have been replaced.

China Daily (Beijing), 17 June 1986, p. 3.

86/06/17

RECORD: 188

Objectives Subobjectives Indicators

Sources

Item Date

ECONOMIC Policy

The State Council issues a circular on

reform of the commercial system. It calls for

promotion of horizontal links between enterprises and between regions, further decentralization of commerce, and State regulation of commerce and markets through

indirect, macroeconomic means.

Sources Item Date China Daily (Beijing), 26 June 1986, p. 1.

86/06/26